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The Political Theories of the Ancient World. By WESTEL WOODBURY WILLOUGHBY. Pp. xii, 294. Price, \$2.00. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903.

This work is the introductory volume in a series intended to cover the entire history of political theory, and includes a discussion of Oriental, Hebrew, Greek and Roman political ideas. In the treatment of the classical period, Professor Willoughby is somewhat unfortunate in having to work over territory which has been pretty thoroughly surveyed in very recent times. Loos' detailed study of Plato and Aristotle, Rehm's *Geschichte der Staatsrechtswissenschaft*, and Dunning's *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Mediaeval*, to say nothing of earlier and minor works, have covered the period in such a thorough way as to leave little room for originality in material, or freshness of discussion. Nevertheless, a complete history of political theories must begin with the beginning, and after all no two historians see the same facts or interpret them alike.

Professor Willoughby is already well known to political scientists through his *Nature of the State and Social Justice*, and is well qualified to write such a work as he has planned. His prefatory assertion, however, that the formulation of an independent scheme of political theory is a necessary qualification for an historian of political theories is open to question. One might with equal logic maintain that no one is justified in philosophizing on politics until he has examined carefully the thoughts of the great masters of political theory in the past. In fact the wealth of reference to past and present political theorists, found in Professor Willoughby's *Nature of the State*, indicates that his opinions were formed in precisely this way, and that he had first carefully scrutinized the historical development of political philosophy. Indeed, one of the many valuable features of that work is its frequent and useful summaries of the conclusions reached by earlier theorists.

The scope of the work undertaken includes not only an examination of systematic political philosophy, but also an inquiry into the "political ideas implied but not expressed in the systems of government and law of the times and people considered." With the exception of certain phases of Grecian and Roman *Rechtslehre*, however, the author has generally restricted himself to the field of *Staatslehre* traversed by his predecessors. On the other hand, he has somewhat slighted the connection between political theories and the social and political conditions under which they have been developed.

The style of the volume is on the whole attractive, but the general effect is marred by a few blemishes. One of these is the frequent insertion of page-long quotations from various authorities, sometimes from the thinker under discussion, sometimes from an historian of the particular period. It is also hard to see why the author should have preferred to use Ellis' translation of Aristotle in the presence of so many better ones, notably that of Jowett, which is certainly less painful than the one actually used.

The discussion of the theories of the period covered is generally adequate and satisfactory. If some exceptions are taken, it is not to be inferred that these are typical of the whole work. Thus the statement that the Hebrew priests

wielded no political authority (p. 26) is contradicted by the author himself (p. 28). It is questionable whether the Sophists were a sufficiently unified body of thinkers to be regarded as constituting a "school" of philosophy or politics, as the author indicates. Again in the discussion of Aristotle, the author seems to have mistaken his idea of the "polity." This was not properly the rule of the poor (p. 172), but was conceived as a mean between the rule of the many poor and the few rich. It was the rule of the middle class rather than government by either rich or poor. It may further be questioned whether Aristotle ever had in mind the distinction now drawn by some theorists between the "State" and the "government" (p. 167). Aristotle's theory of revolutions is passed over with a few words, although this constitutes one of the most important and instructive parts of his work; likewise Aristotle's defence of democracy which exerted such a pronounced influence on later political theory is very scantily treated. Another omission is the author's failure to place in proper perspective the characteristic Greek doctrine of the "philosopher king" the ever-recurring idea of the political Messiah, so frequently found in both Aristotle and Plato.

The consideration of these defects of the work should not blind us to the many excellent features of the volume. It is on the whole a careful and painstaking study, adequate to the author's purpose of presenting a review of the history of political theories during the classical period. The projected series of volumes will, when completed, make a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the various stages through which political speculation has passed.

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